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The Great Inscription of Šāpūr I

By W. B. HENNING

THE Pahlavi inscription discovered in 1936 by the expedition of the Oriental Institute of Chicago is perhaps the most important document of the Sasanian empire. It was found at the eastern wall of the so-called “Kaaba of Zoroaster” which was probably a Fire-temple, in front of the Achæmenian tombs at Naqš-i-Rustam.

We owe our thanks to Professor Sprengling, of Chicago, who unhesitatingly undertook the task of publishing this very difficult inscription although previously Pahlavi was not among the numerous fields of his researches. As early as January, 1937, a preliminary transcript of the text together with a short commentary was published¹; this edition was closely followed by a further contribution of Professor Sprengling² which was accompanied by a photograph of the inscription, thus facilitating the participation of other scholars in the interpretation of the new monument³; for much remains to be done.

There cannot be any doubt that the inscription was set up by Šāpūr I (A.D. 241–272), although Sprengling maintains (in his second article, pp. 654 sq.) that it commemorates the coronation of Narseh (294–302). However, not only the general contents of the inscription

¹ M. Sprengling, “A New Pahlavi Inscription,” *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, vol. liii, No. 2 [January, 1937], pp. 126–144 [= Sprengling I].

² “Zur Parsik-Inschrift an der ‘Kaaba des Zoroaster’,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 91, No. 3 [1937], pp. 652–672 [= Sprengling II].

³ I had at my disposal another, slightly better photograph which Professor Bailey had generously lent me (with Professor Sprengling’s kind consent); my readings are throughout based upon this photograph which previously had been sent to Professor Bailey by Professor Sprengling.

make it abundantly clear to whom it should be ascribed, but it is stated *expressis verbis* in the inscription itself as I hope to prove in the course of the present article.

The inscription is divided into two parts: the second part (middle of line 21 to the end) deals with the institution of sacred fires and funds in honour of members of the royal family and of all those who had contributed to the foundation and strengthening of the newly created Sasanian empire; another article will be devoted to the study of the long list of names and titles which throws much light on the early history of the Sasanians.

The first part of the inscription describes the events that induced the King of Kings to present the Zoroastrian church with the liberal gifts which are detailed in the second part: the long series of successes in the war against the Romans, in the sixth decade of the third century, which culminated in the capture of the Emperor Valerian. The numerous towns mentioned in this part of the inscription are towns in Syria, Cilicia, Cappadocia, which were taken by Šāpūr in the course of these wars, not a "Städteliste" of towns that formed part of the Sasanian empire (thus Sprengling, II, p. 657).

It is deeply to be regretted that the first half of the inscription is severely damaged (whilst the second half is quite well preserved), so much so, in fact, that it is almost impossible to form any clear idea of the contents of this part. However, a careful interpretation of the few legible words will, it is hoped, show that just enough is left to determine the broad outlines of the fateful events which were recorded in the monument.

I leave aside the few traces which can be seen of the first six lines. The restoration of the very first words of the inscription as *št[ry mgw]pty*, proposed by Sprengling, is far from being certain enough to establish the important conclusions drawn by Sprengling (II, pp. 654 sq.) from them; the reading *]pty* is uncertain; probably *]wsy*. At the beginning of the fifth line Sprengling read at first *hn'[r]krtyp[y]tk'l*, later *hnd'zkrty pytk'r[y]* (II, p. 656); the latter does not agree with the traces on the stone, and *pytk'r-*, as alternative spelling of *ptkl-* "picture", will hardly be accepted¹; probably *hn' krtyp[= ēd kird* "this has been done". The only certain words are line 2 *whmny* (but *w hmky* "and all" is also possible), line 3 *'whrmzd*, line 4 *štry*.

¹ If *ptk'ry* were to be read, the meaning would be "fight"; this reading, however, is not very likely.

A. CONQUEST OF SYRIA

From the middle of the sixth line begins an enumeration of towns ; their names are embedded in the recurring formula :—

X. štrdstn MN plw'ly khdh

i.e. “ the town X. together with ¹ its *parvār* ” ; *šahristān* is “ a town of some importance ”, *parvār* is anything from “ wall (also of a fortress) ” to “ suburb ” and “ surroundings ”.²

This enumeration runs from line 6 to line 10. Each line originally contained about eight names ; the whole list, therefore, about forty names. Of all these not more than four can be read with certainty, one in each line, namely :—

line 7 : *gndlwsy*

line 8 : *snčly*

line 9 : *btn'n*

line 10 : *'mly*

Sprengling correctly identifies *gndlwsy* as *Gindarus*, lying to the north-east of Antiochia. For *btn'n* (this reading is, in my opinion, unassailable), he hesitatingly compared *Wadi Butnan*, for *snčly* *Sindjar*, for *'mly* *Āmul* (in Tabaristān or on the Oxus : I, p. 136 ; II, p. 657). That *Āmul* should be spelt *'ml-*, instead of *'mwl-*, is hard to believe. The equation *snčly* = *Sinġār* is not possible ; for *sinġār* is nothing but the Arabic pronunciation of the name which in the third century was *Singara*.

btn'n is undoubtedly *Batnae* (Bathnae) of Roman times ; as to the form, *hl'n štrdstn*³ = *Harrān*, *Carrhae*, should be compared ; *hl'n* is mentioned in the inscription recently discovered at Shapur,⁴

¹ The two words *MN . . . khdh* are to be translated “ together with ”. Sprengling's rendering “ vom Umkreis . . . aus zugleich ” (II, p. 656), is not quite correct. I still adhere to my proposal (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1935, pp. 15 sq.) to read *khdh* as *ham(m)is* (not *hamē*) ; the older translation of *hamis* as “ separated ” (again Herzfeld, *Altpers. Inschr.*, p. 186) is wrong ; cf. Sogd. **mrδ'n* < **hāmiθr-* < **hammiθr-* ?

² Cf. Herzfeld, *Altpers. Inschr.*, p. 75. [Or “ citadel ” ? Cf. Pahlavi Psalter *plyw'ly* = Syr. *sāharā*, Andreas-Parr, p. 57.]

³ Thus to be read.

⁴ R. Ghirshman, *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, t. x, num. iii, pp. 123-9. At the end of line 13, *ZNH ptkly YHBWN* is to be restored ; *krtly* . . . *MN NPŠH BYT* (line 10) probably means “ made at his own expense ”. As reward for his gift *'ps'y* receives “ (things) of gold and silver, slaves and slave-girls, gardens and estates ”. On *'BDk wknysky* see Herzfeld, *Altpers. Inschr.*, p. 87 n. ; the spelling *knysk-* proves that the reading *knysk-* in the Pahlavi Psalter was wrong (*s* and *š* can rarely be distinguished) ; Pahlavi *𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭥* (Frahang) also should be analysed as *knysk* ; the last word of the inscription is Pahlavi *𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭥* = *xvāstak* (the ideogram possibly *ערכא* = ארץ “ land ” ; hardly Greek *ἄρα* as suggested by Herzfeld, *ibid.*, p. 122 n.).

as the town¹ from which the dedicator of the monument, 'ps'y,² originated.

There were, however, two towns of the name *Batnae*: one of them was situated between Aleppo and Hierapolis-Manbōg, the other on the road from Hierapolis to Edessa, half-way between the Euphrates and Edessa. Fortunately it has proved possible to decide which of these two towns is meant in the inscription. For the name of the town which was mentioned immediately before *bt'n'n* can still be read. Sprengling reads: *glsn . . . ly*; instead, I should like to propose *glykwmy*; *glyk-* is, I think, certain, the lower part of the *m* can be clearly distinguished, *w* is at least probable; there is considerable doubt about the last character (or characters). *Glykw-*, suggesting *Galīkōm*, is apparently *Calecome*³: according to the Antonine Itinerary the first stage on the Roman road from *Calecome* to Edessa is *Batnae*, the second Hierapolis.

The sequence *Calecome-Batnae* gives a further valuable point: it shows that the enumeration of towns is not a list of towns chosen at random, but an itinerary. Not, of course, the itinerary of a peaceful traveller, but the route taken by Šāpūr in his attack on Syria which provoked the aged emperor Valerian to his ill-fated campaign (in 258-260?). This attack most probably took place in 256⁴: in that year the Roman garrison at Dura-Europos surrendered to the Persians. That Šāpūr took Antiochia for the first time in the course of this campaign is corroborated by the mention of Gindarus in our inscription.

The route *Calecome-Batnae* was taken by Šāpūr on his way back to Mesopotamia, whilst he captured Gindarus at the beginning of his campaign. The town mentioned after Gindarus must have been Antiochia, just as the place recorded after *Batnae* certainly was Hierapolis-Bambyke.⁵

It is clear now that the town *sncl'y*, which is mentioned between Gindarus and *Calecome*, is to be looked for in Syria. Furthermore, its situation must be such as to render it likely that Šāpūr marched

¹ Another proposal has been made by Christensen, see Ghirshman, *ibid.*, p. 128.

² Hardly an Iranian; the name ends in *-ā*, not *-āy*; *Āpasāy* would be spelt 'ps'dy.

³ See R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, p. 450: "un des faubourgs d'Alep." In the Pahlavi inscription *Calecome* is treated as a separate town.

⁴ The date given by Nöldeke, 251/52 (*Tabari*, p. 31, n. 3), holds good for the conquest of Nisibis and Carrhae only; that in 563 Sel. Šāpūr should have been not only in Syria, but even in Cappadocia, is quite incredible.

⁵ Irrespective of the traces on the stone (Sprengling: *wzdl'y*).

towards it before proceeding to Calecome–Aleppo. The last condition is that there were at least seven important places each lying between Gindarus and *sncl̥y* and between *sncl̥y* and Batnae. All these conditions are easily fulfilled by *Larissa*, on the Orontes, half-way between Apamea and Epiphania (Hama). The indigenous name of Larissa was *Sizara* (now *Sheizar*), originally most probably *Sinzar*¹: *sncl̥y*² is an exact rendering of *s(i)nz(a)r*.

From Larissa Šāpūr went to Epiphania. It is, of course, possible that from thence he might have gone directly towards Aleppo. On the other hand, he might have proceeded southwards towards Emesa before returning to Mesopotamia. It is well known that Emesa figures largely in the history of these wars as the town reputed to have put a stop to the progress of the Persian armies. Modern historians, it seems, agree that the successful defence of Emesa, as told by John Malala, took place, if at all, *after* the defeat of Valerian. It is, however quite unlikely that Šāpūr who was then engaged in an extensive campaign in Asia Minor should have paid much attention to the warlike high priest of Emesa. On the other hand, it is very likely indeed that the last town reached by Šāpūr in his expedition to Syria, as described in our inscription, was Emesa.

I regret that I am unable to furnish a satisfactory explanation of the name *'mly* (i.e. vowel + *m* + *a* or no vowel + *r* or *l*). The route taken by Šāpūr, Calecome–Batnae, suggests a crossing of the Euphrates at Caeciliana, followed by a march towards Edessa or Carrhae. These places were, of course, in his possession before he set out to conquer Syria; it is, therefore, unlikely that *'ml-y* is to be looked for in Osrhoēne.³ On the other hand, it is not quite impossible that Šāpūr before crossing the great river ravaged the places on its right bank⁴; going down-river the first place which he would have reached was *Beth-ammaria*: its distance from Batnae, however, is too small for

¹ See Dussaud, *op. cit.*, pp. 199 seq. Note the old form found in Amarna tablets: *Zi-in-za-ar* (Dussaud, p. 200, n. 2). Assimilation of *-nz-* to *-zz-* is, of course, common in Aramaic.

² Pahlavi *-nc-* renders *-nč-*, *-nž-*, *-nǵ-*, and *-nz-*; in the third century A.D. the ordinary pronunciation of *-nc-* in Persian words was *-nz-*.

³ The emplacement of *Hemerium* is not known, cf. Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 500, n. 1. For *Immirina*, mentioned in Assyrian texts along with Bambyce, see Dussaud, p. 520 (= *Bethammaria*?).

⁴ He hardly went down the Euphrates as far as Dura; this town, along with other places on the river (Circesium, Nicephorium, etc.), probably was occupied by an expeditionary corps at the same time that the King of Kings crossed the river to capture Antiochia.

an identification with *'mly*. There remains the possibility that the systematic enumeration of towns in the order as they were occupied by Šāpūr came to its close with the mention of, say, Caeciliana, whilst the end of the list comprised places taken by his generals in his absence. A similar arrangement can be proved for the list of Cilician and Cappadocian towns which is to be discussed later. In that case no objection need be raised against the identification of *'mly* with *Beth-ammaria*, except that one would not expect the inclusion in our list of a place of small importance like Bethammaria; for all the places mentioned in the inscription are well known and easily recognizable towns, with this one exception.

The course of events, as can be learned from the inscription, was, therefore, as follows: after having occupied Mesopotamia, Šāpūr set out from Edessa in the summer of 256. He crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma and proceeded along the Roman road, that passes through Gindarus, to Antiochia. Thence he went up the Orontes valley, capturing Apamea, Larissa, and Epiphania. He reached Emesa whence he returned, by way of Chalcis, Aleppo, Batnae, and Hierapolis, to Mesopotamia. There he awaited the attack of Valerian.

B. THE ROMAN ARMY

After the enumeration of Syrian towns another list follows. The formula is:—

MN X. štry

i.e. "from the *šahr* X.". The text which combined the first and the second lists is lost. At the close of the second list which occupies the greater part of line 11, the whole line 12, and the first half of line 13, we find the clearly legible sentence: "at Edessa the battle with the Emperor Valerian took place." To judge by the spacings, the second list contained not more than thirty names.

It is important to determine the exact value of the word *šahr* (*štry*). Its meaning varies from "world", "empire", "kingdom", "country" to "province". In our inscription it is used with, e.g., Cappadocia. That shows clearly that, in this context, *šahr* is used for "province", or, to be exact, for *provincia romana*.¹ The opinion expressed by Professor Sprengling differs greatly; according to him the second list enumerates "grössere oder kleinere Königreiche"

¹ That does not necessarily imply that all the provinces enumerated in the inscription were *provinciae* in the strict sense of that term.

which were “ dem Grossreich auf mehr oder weniger Dauer einverleibt ” (II, p. 657). He speaks of a “ Reich von Cappadocien ” (ibid.). Cappadocia, however, was not a “ Reich ” nor was it ever regarded as an integral part of Šāpūr’s empire, not even by Šāpūr himself.

The first name which is clearly visible is *mwsy’y* in line 11 ; I do not understand Sprengling’s hesitation in the reading of this name : he offers *mr(w)ys’y* in his text and *mr(w)sy’y* as alternative reading only (I, p. 136). As the final *-y* has no phonetical value whatever, all that is necessary is to read correctly in order to find out that *Μυσία* is meant ; not, however, the Asiatic *Μυσία* but the Roman province *Moesia*.

Of the name that preceded *Moesia* only the last letters can be read : *]dny’y*. The *d* is, in my opinion, quite certain (Sprengling unnecessarily considers *]hny’y*, I, p. 136, beside *]dny’y*). Before the *d* about two letters are missing. At first I thought of *Μακεδονία*. That, however, was probably wrong ; for in the orthographical system of Pahlavi the sign *d* is, as a rule, not used for rendering an intervocalic *-d-* ; in that case the sign *-t-* is regularly employed, whilst the letter *-d-* between vowels denotes *y*. Accordingly, the final of *Μακεδονία* should be spelt *]twny’y*. The *d* in *]dny’y*, therefore, either indicates *y*, or *d* with a consonant preceding. For these reasons, the likely restoration is *[dl]dny’y* = *Δαρδανία*, i.e. the southern district of *Moesia superior*, which, however, was first made a province by Diocletian.

The name that followed *Moesia* began with an Alef ; the second character is effaced, the third and fourth might be *-lw-* ; the final is missing. This reading *’lw*,¹ if correct, strongly suggests *Illyricum*, i.e. the province Dalmatia. This is the last name in line 11.

In line 12, the first name is too severely damaged to permit of a satisfactory reading.² Of the next name, the final is clearly visible : *]plkydy*. The spelling *-ydy*, at the end of a word, denotes simply an *-ī* or *-ē*.³ As the names of practically all Roman provinces end in

¹ = *’[y]lw* ; but *’ . . t* is also possible.

² Sprengling : *’sp . . y’y*. Possibly *k* is the first letter ; perhaps *k’.tn’wy* or *k’.tk’wy* ? *k’[l]tk’wy* = Carthago is not very likely.

³ Cf. H. H. Schaeder, *Ungar. Jbb.*, t. xv, pp. 574 sq. For this reason, *sydy* is not an adequate rendering of Arab. *sayyidī* (Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, s.v. *hlw’nyk* ; this latter word probably means “ of Holwān ”, cf. Bailey, *BSOS.*, IX, p. 233, and hardly equals *’arḇāyā*, as Herzfeld proposes ; cf. also *Altpers. Inschr.*, p. 114 ; in Pahlavi *’arḇāyā* would be *arḇāy*, *arvāy* or *arḇāyik*, *arvāyik*, cf. *hrōmāy* beside *hrōmāyik* and *ZDMG.*, vol. 90, p. 8).

-*la* it is easy to identify the few that end in -*η*.¹ There certainly can be found one province only whose name could be spelt]*plkη*, namely 'Αφρική.

A gap, sufficiently large for about six names, separates *Africa* from the next name that admits a satisfactory reading. Sprengling proposes : *gr(l)mw(r)k'* The first three letters, *gl'*, are quite sure. The fourth is, I believe, not an *m*, but a *t* ; having gained *gl't*], it is easy to guess the remainder, viz. *gl'tyd'[y] = Γαλατία*.

The following name has been read . . *r(l)w(r)kyd'* . . by Sprengling. This is quite correct ; the only point in which I disagree is the assumption of missing letters at the beginning of the word ; *lwkdy'[y]* is obviously *Λυκία*.

For the next name Sprengling proposes]*dyd'y*. To my mind, the first *d* looks more like a *k*. There are some traces left of the preceding character which suggest *y* or *w*. If]*ykyd'y* is to be preferred, we have to restore *Kιλικία*.

The following name, one of the very few that can be read at first sight, has been recognized as *Καππαδοκία* by Professor Sprengling : *kpwtky'y*. The curious spelling, suggesting *kapōdakia*, might be due to mishearing ; or it might be simply a clerical error (for *kptwky'y*) of the stone-mason who may have had in his mind the ordinary Pahlavi word *kapōtak* (*καβόδαγ*) "blue".—I am unable to give any reason for the difference in the spelling of the ending of Lycia, Cilicia, etc. (*-yd'y*, *d = -i-*) as against Cappadocia, Moesia, etc. (*-y'y*).

The remaining provinces of Asia Minor (*Bithynia et Pontus, Asia*), were apparently enumerated before Galatia ; for the name after Cappadocia, *plnkydy*, would be sought in vain in Asia Minor. In fact, a province of this name does not exist. The reading, however, is beyond doubt (though the *n* is slightly damaged). It is necessary, therefore, to assume a mistake.

A further name which is illegible ends line 12. I have not succeeded in deciphering the first name in line 13, *yt k'hy* (?) according to Sprengling. The following, however, is delightfully clear : *yhwdy'[y] = 'Ιουδαία*, i.e. the alternative name of the *Provincia Syria Palaestina*.²

¹ It is presumed, as a matter of course, that Greek forms (not Latin) underlie the Pahlavi spellings.

² It does not seem superfluous to determine the meaning of *Judaea*. The following explanation is offered by Professor Sprengling : "After this we are faced with a mystery near the beginning of line 13. *Jkhvdia* [*yhwdy'y*] can hardly be anything other than *Jehudaia*, hardly *Judea* in the time of Shahpuhr I, but almost certainly

The spelling with *d*, against the rules of Pahlavi orthography (Book-Pahlavi regularly *yhwut-*), suggests mechanical transcription from a script which does not adhere to the intricate system of Pahlavi writing (be it Greek or Syriac; *h*, of course, would be expressed in any case). The presence of a case of mechanical transliteration reopens the question of the identity of]*dny'y* with *Μακεδονία* (rejected above, p. 829; even then one would expect]*dwny'y*).

As the provinces are obviously enumerated in a definite order, *plnkydy* is to be placed between Asia Minor and Palaestina. The choice, small as it is, is further limited by the ending *-kydy* = *-κη*. Consequently, *plnkydy* must be a mistaken *Φοινίκη*. The error may have arisen in Greek writing (*ΦΟΙΝΙΚΗ* > *ΦΟΑΝΙΚΗ* ?), still more easily in Pahlavi: the original spelling **pwnkydy*¹ might have been changed to *plnkydy* by a copyist who read *prn-* instead of *pwn-* (the letters *w* and *r* are identical, and the sound *r* can as well be expressed by the character *l*).

Judaea is the last name that is visible. A large gap follows which extends over nearly half a line. It is so far not possible to say whether the enumeration continued or not.² At the end of the lacuna Sprengling reads:—

... *tw . . dwly ddk 'k štr'*

No suggestion can be offered for the first word. But the spelling *štr'* merits attention: obviously the plural *štr'[n]* "provinces". Still more noteworthy is the word *ddk* I confess that I am unable to detect the *-k-*, but *dd* seems certain—very unusual as the beginning of a word. These letters, however, are much larger than usual: in fact, they are not letters at all, but numerals. The symbol for 20 is nearly identical with an enlarged *d*; *DD* is 40. I am unable to decipher the traces after *DD*; neither the symbol for 10,³ nor a group of the units seem to be in accord with them. The following restoration should perhaps be considered: *DD [hrwm'd]yk štr'[n]* "forty odd⁴ Roman provinces".

This number does not represent the sum of the provinces which

something, probably some place, hardly simply a group of people, which is Jewish. Exactly what it is and what is said about it, the writer cannot guess." (I, p. 36; on similar lines, II, p. 657.)

¹ In Syriac, e.g., Greek *oi* is usually rendered by *w*.

² *štry MN*, read by Sprengling in the second half of the gap, is not quite certain.

³ Cf. the inscription found at Shapur (line 1: *DD X IIII IIII*), particularly the excellent photograph (*Rev. Arts Asiat.*, t. x, n. iii, before p. 123).

⁴ "Fifty (odd)" is not completely excluded.

were enumerated by name in the inscription ; but the full number of Roman provinces (48 ?). Hardly more than thirty names, at least twenty-two (fourteen in line 12, six in line 11—traces of three groups are visible before Dardania—two in line 13), were mentioned in the monument. The full list could be restored in the following way :—

- (line 11) [Achaia]
 [Epirus]
 [Macedonia]
 [Dar]dania (r. [Mace]donia ?)
 5 Moesia
 Illy[ricum]
- (line 12) Carthago ¹ (? = *Africa propria* ? ?)
 Africa (= Numidia ?)
 [Mauretania]
 10 [Cyrenaica]
 [Aegyptus]
- [Thracia] ²
 [Bithynia]
 [Asia]
 15 Galatia
 Lycia
 Cilicia
 Cappadocia
- Phoenice
 20 [Cyprus]
- (line 13) [Syria Coele]
 Judaea
 23 [Arabia]

A revision of the traces on the original will certainly correct this list in many points. But on the whole it seems clear that the provinces of the eastern half only of the Roman empire were enumerated.

Šāpūr, the “ King of Kings of Iranians and non-Iranians ”, looked upon the Roman emperor as his equal. As he himself was the overlord over many kings and kingdoms, so the emperor ruled over

¹ Exceedingly dubious.

² Or at the beginning of the list ; six names are needed for the large gap in line 12.

numerous *legati* and *provinciae*. When he triumphed over the Roman army and made the emperor a prisoner, he proudly felt that he had gained a victory over the combined armies of forty odd "kingdoms"; he ascertained their number from his captives.

Each name on the list is preceded by *MN* "from". That suggests a context such as: "Valerian collected troops *from* all these provinces," or "*from* all these 'kingdoms' armies marched against me". It is indeed likely that Valerian's army was mainly composed of detachments from the eastern provinces, whilst his son and co-emperor Gallienus drew his troops from the western part of the empire; the historians may decide whether such a statement is strictly correct. On the whole, it seems just as likely that the enumeration is based on an incomplete list of the Roman provinces (comprising the eastern half only), which had been drawn up in strict geographical order, without much regard to the composition of Valerian's army. Such a list could easily be obtained after the defeat of the Romans. It is a matter for regret that, owing to the bad preservation of the passage and the numerous uncertainties in the reading, restoration, and interpretation of the various names, not even the way of transmission of the list could so far be determined.¹

C. THE BATTLE AT EDESSA

Immediately upon the sum total of the Roman provinces follows the sentence on the battle with Valerian. Between *štr'[n]* and *'wlh'y* just enough space is left for the restoration of a preposition, e.g. *pwn* "at".

Like other interesting passages in this inscription, this is also too heavily damaged to add much to our knowledge. As is well known the accounts given by Western historical writers of this battle are rather confused. Various places are mentioned as the scene of the decisive encounter, but Gibbon had already placed it at Edessa; this is now fully confirmed by the inscription. The date (260 ?) remains unsettled. The various stories, each differing from the other, as told by Roman historians about the cause of the disaster (betrayal by Valerian's generals, faithlessness of Šāpūr, etc.), are probably to be ascribed to

¹ Of two provinces with the same name, if distinguished by *superior* and *inferior* only, a single name alone was mentioned (Moesia). Where the distinguishing words carried more importance, a complete list might have been given, as is suggested by the (assumed) presence of the three divisions of Syria. Of a twofold designation the first name alone was entered: Lycia (et Pamphylia), probably also Cyrenaica (et Creta), Bithynia (et Pontus).

their inability to believe that a Roman emperor, and an emperor of Valerian's distinction, who was an experienced general, should have suffered a complete defeat at the hands of the Persians, and worse, should even have been taken a prisoner alive.



It has often been remarked that the Oriental sources are almost silent about this victory, surely the greatest triumph of the Persian arms in the long history of the Roman-Persian wars during the reign of the Sasanians. This, however, is due to the almost complete absence of a genuine historical tradition for the first centuries of the Sasanian empire rather than to any tendency to conceal a perhaps doubtful affair. That the victory was complete is clearly proved by the subsequent actions of Šāpūr.—Curiously enough, the form of Valerian's name is more correctly preserved in the tradition of the *Xwaḍāy-Nāma*γ (الريانوس in Tabari¹) than in the inscription (*wly'lnwsy* instead of *wlly'nwsy*).

The passage in question has been read by the editor as follows :—

... 'wlh'y *LWTH* *wly'lnwsy kysly 'ltyk YHWWN* '... *wly[']l[nwsy]*
 [line 14] *BNPŠH PWN NPŠH* *wstzlwby wrt*

If we accept Professor Sprengling's proposal to find Valerian's name a second time, we have to complete line 13 by restoring *kysly* (Caesar) at its end. After *YHWWN*, 'pm² is perhaps the most likely reading; it is neither 'HR nor 'DYN. At the end, we have to read *krt[y]* instead of *wrt[*. The enigmatic word *wstzlwby* proves to be *dstgłwby* = *dastgraβ*. It occurs, e.g., in the Pahlavi *Frahang*, XVII, 1:—

سرزدید کمرش در دوزخ تدار

The ideogram  (cf. Syr.  *h^abūšyā*) is explained by (a) *zindān* "prison", (b) *dastgraβ* "captivity".³ As to the formation, *dastgīr* "captive"⁴ should be compared.—The short word before *dastgraβ* cannot yet be deciphered. The sentence reads :—

[paδ] *Urhā*⁵ *aβāγ Valerianos kaisar arđīγ būd u-m Valerianos kaisar xvaδ paδ xvēš* . . . *dastgraβ kird*. "At Edessa the battle with the emperor Valerian took place. I made the emperor Valerian

¹ Nöldeke, *Tabarī*, p. 32, n. 3.

² Hardly 'Pn as in the Hāggīābād inscription.

³ The translation offered by Junker (*Frah.*, p. 91), "bond, pledge," etc., is quite wrong.

⁴ See Herzfeld, *Alt pers. Inschr.*, p. 136.

⁵ The final -i of *Orhāi* is lost (as, e.g., in Armen. *Uṛha*); *Orhāi* would be spelt 'wlh'dy.

himself with ¹ his prisoner." If, however, the reflexive pronouns refer to the logical subject of the sentence (not to the grammatical subject), as is perhaps more likely, the translation should read : "I myself with my own [hands ?] made the emperor Valerian a prisoner."

D. INCURSION OF CILICIA AND CAPPADOCIA

After the defeat of Valerian, Šāpūr made a violent attack upon Syria and Asia Minor. He devastated Antiochia to punish the inhabitants for the murder of Cyriades ² (whom Šāpūr had proclaimed Roman emperor) and the massacre of the Persian garrison shortly after Šāpūr had left Syria, in 257. He ravaged Cilicia and Cappadocia ; amongst other towns he captured Tarsus and, after a protracted siege, Caesarea, the capital of Cappadocia.³

It is the natural course to expect a record of these events in the inscription after the relation of Valerian's defeat. And, indeed, the following lines (14–20) contain a full description of this campaign and a lengthy enumeration of the towns that fell into the hands of the Persians. This has not been recognized by Professor Sprengling, who was inclined to find places like Herodot's Kaspatyros mentioned in the inscription. He came near to the truth in one case only, namely in recognizing *m'lwisy* as what it is, viz. Mallos, at the same time, however, also considering a town in north-western India (I, p. 137).

A large gap separates the statement that Valerian was taken prisoner from the next legible phrase. The editor reads :—

. . . s'y štry 'y štry . . . 'y štry 'twrsyhty wr'wyl'n wwlty'c
krty'pk w'hrn w.nr'n [line 15] hwdy.'kyn štry š
štrdstn mn plw'ly [kḥdh, etc.

The importance of this sentence is obvious : this phrase introduces the second list of towns where again we find the formula : *X. štrdstn MN plw'ly KḤDH*. At the beginning of the sentence the word *štry* occurs three times, always preceded by -'y.⁴ The ending indicates names of Roman provinces. Though the names can no longer be


¹ Or : in, at, by, through, etc.

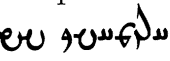
² See Gibbon-Bury⁶, vol. i, pp. 459 sq. According to Sarre-Herzfeld, *Iran. Felsreliefs*, pp. 77 sqq., Cyriades was still alive in 260 and assisted in the submission of Valerian, as depicted in the famous reliefs at Shapur and Naqsh-i-Rustam.

³ Cf. G. Rawlinson, *Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, vol. 1, pp. 82 seq.

⁴ The ending of the first name is hardly]s'y ;]ly'y is perhaps more likely.

read, one restoration only is possible: "the province [Sy]ria, the province [Cilici]a, [and] the province [Cappadoci]a."

The following word *'twrsyhty* is easily corrected in *'twrswhty* "burned (devastated) by fire"; the second *w* is still visible. In *wr'wyl'n* or *ww'wyl'n*, the well-known Pahlavi word  *avērān* "laid waste" (NPers. *vērān*, Arm. *aver*, etc.), can be recognized at once; by mistake, the copyist has repeated *w* "and". *wlty'c* is unknown; the meaning is probably "ravaged" or "plundered".¹ *krty* (thus to be divided) ends the first part of the sentence.

The second part opens with *'Pm* "and by me" (hardly *'Pn*, see above, p. 834, n. 2). The next word is hardly *w'hrn* or *w'hwn*, but *whdwn*, i.e. *'HDWN*, the ideogram for *grift(an)*. I cannot read what follows up to the end of the line; but the last word must have been a preposition "in", probably *byn*, because line 15 opens with the (comparatively) legible words: *hrwm'dayk* ² *štry* =  *hrōmāyīk šahr* "Roman empire". This is immediately followed by the first name of the second comprehensive list of towns.

Consequently, the introductory sentence is to be translated: "(I) burnt with fire, ravaged, and plundered the provinces Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia. I captured and [destroyed] in the Roman empire: the town Š. with its surroundings, the town etc."

Seven towns were enumerated in line 15. Of the first name, Š[is all that can be read at first sight. Afterwards three names are effaced; three names of Cilician places³ fill the remainder of the line. If we assume that the arrangement of the names follows the same principle that could be observed in the first list of Syrian places, there arises the difficulty that the number of places mentioned before Šāpūr entered Cilicia is altogether too small. There are two possible explanations of this.

(a) Šāpūr did not go to Antiochia after all. If he intended a surprise attack on the rich provinces of Asia Minor, he might have chosen the shortest route possible, so to enter Cilicia not from the south but from Commagene. In that case he would have crossed the Euphrates at Samosata and taken the road to Nicopolis *via* Doliche-Aintab; from Nicopolis-Islahiye he might have pursued the route now followed by the railway to Missis, without entering Hieropolis (on the right


¹ Possibly derived from av. *varəta-* "captured, captive", also "booty" (Pahlavi *vartak*, N. Pers. *barda*).

² Sprengling: *hwdy*. 'kyn or hrd-.

³ The first is *Mopsuestia* (see farther on).

bank of the Pyramos) or Anazarbos. Had he wanted to possess himself of Tarsus as quickly as possible, such a course of action would have been perfectly reasonable. The capture of Tarsus made him master of the Cilician Gates and enabled him to cut off any help that might be sent to Syria from Asia Minor. He did not endanger his position because no serious resistance could be expected from Syria, after his victorious campaign there two or three years before and the success at Edessa; though probably he sent some troops to retake Antiochia. In this case, the names to be restored in the inscription would be: (1) Samosata, (2) Doliche, (3) Nicopolis, (4) unknown (or before (2)), (5) Mopsuestia.

(b) Šāpūr *did* go to Antiochia.¹ It would be necessary to assume that he disdained repeating the names of those towns of which the capture had already been recorded in the inscription for his former expedition; most of the towns in Upper Syria would come in this category. Even then the number of places listed before Mopsuestia is embarrassingly small, if we assume (as seems necessary) that during his first campaign Šāpūr did not advance farther than, e.g., Alexandria. Moreover the order in which the towns of Cilicia are arranged seems to suggest that he passed Issos on his way back (see below).—But, if nevertheless he should have proceeded to Antiochia, he most likely would have followed the third of the three roads which lead from Edessa to Antiochia,² namely Edessa—Samosata—Doliche—Cyrrhus—Antiochia.³

Whichever solution may be the correct one, the first name of the list of places can hardly be anything but *Samosata*. The initial š is clearly visible, and, I believe, the second letter *m* can still be recognized; therefore, we have to restore *šm[yš't]* or *šm[yš'ty]*, in accord with Syr.  *šmaišāt* and Ar. شمشاط *šumaišāt*.⁴—The capture of Samosata, immediately after the battle at Edessa, may account for the location of the battle in the neighbourhood of this important fortress (where a Roman legion was stationed) by the continuator of Dio's Roman History.⁵

The fifth name on the list (2–4 are missing) has been read

¹ I do not question the fact that he entered Antiochia in the course of the whole campaign; he certainly did so on his return to Persia.

² The other two (1. Zeugma-Gindarus, 2. Caeciliana-Hierapolis-Aleppo) had been used by him in his first expedition.

³ See Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 479.

⁴ Also spelt *sumaišāt*, see Minorsky, *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 393.

⁵ Cf. Gibbon-Bury⁶, vol. i, p. 459.

m'mstty'y by Professor Sprengling. The reading cannot be doubted. I believe that we have to assume a copyist's mistake, for *m'msstty'y* = *māmsistia*, i.e. the real name of the town which the Greek understood as "the hearth of Mopsos", *Μοψουεστία* (*Μόψου ἐστία*). The Peutinger Tabula spells *Mompsistea*; in Byzantine times it is called *Mampsista* or *Mansista* (now *Missis*).¹

The next name, *m'lwsy*, is *Mallos* at the mouth of the river Pyramos (see above).

For the next, Sprengling proposes *'ttn.y*. It is *a priori* clear that *Adana* (*Ἀδανα*) is intended. The first two and the last letter (*'t . . . y*) are beyond doubt; there was an *Alif* in the middle, at the third or perhaps fourth place. The most likely restoration is, perhaps, *'t[n']y* (or *'t[n']d[y] ?*).

Adana is the last name in line 15. The first name in line 16, therefore, must be *Tarsos*. If, bearing this in mind, one studies the photograph, *tlswsy* emerges clearly (cf. *l* and *w* in Sprengling's reading . . . *l . . wkn'*). It is, I think, permissible to apply a method of exclusion to the reading of the often badly mutilated words in our inscription: it is, as a rule, possible to state definitely that the traces in a given case do not agree with a proposed name; if, however, they agree, the proposal must have been the right one. On the other hand, it is often quite impossible to read the words from the photograph without any preconceived idea, because the traces are too ambiguous. It goes without saying that such a method of reading is to be applied with caution.

After having crossed the river Pyramos at Mopsuestia, Šāpūr went to Tarsos along the ancient road that passes through Adana. From Mopsuestia he had sent some troops to Mallos, a seaport of considerable importance. So far everything is clear. The main difficulty of the list lies in the names that were mentioned after Tarsos.

Of the first name traces are visible (Sprengling: *'dnsty'k'y*), three names are missing, some traces can be seen of the next three names (to the end of line 16). In line 17, the first four names are effaced, the last four can be partially read. One of these, in fact, is one of those very few names that can be read without any difficulty: *slynwsy*. It has escaped Professor Sprengling's notice that *slynwsy* represents *Σελωός*, the ancient Greek town on the coast of Isauria, where the emperor Trajan died (hence also called: *Traianopolis*, but still

¹ See W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 385; Arab. *Mašīša*, e.g. Ḥudūd al-'Ālam, § 38, No. 10 (p. 149, tr. Minorsky).

to-day: *Selinti*), the last important town in the Roman province of Cilicia to be reached before the Pamphylian border.

For the name before Selinus Sprengling suggests 'nwmdl.'y; of this, 'n.m.l..y can be regarded as certain: amply sufficient to suggest the present *Anamur*, the ancient 'Ανεμούριον ('Ανεμώριον; Peutinger Tabula: *Animurio*). The most likely restoration would be: 'n[y]m[w]l[yn]y; that agrees with the traces for the first y, possibly also for the ending (Sprengling's *Alif* is rather doubtful), but hardly for the letter between m and l which looks more like a y (Sprengling: *d*). This y, however, may be ascribed to the negligence of the copyist.

Of the preceding name Sprengling reads the ending only, *wsy*. But, I believe, the whole name can still be seen: *klnlwsy*; the initial letters are, it is true, not very distinct; the *w* cannot be corrected in *y*: it may be due to the greater frequency of the ending -os (-*wsy*). The correct spelling would be *klnltsy* = *Κελενδερίς* (*Κελεντερίς*).

Celenderis—Anemurion—Selinus are successive stages on the coastal road of Western Cilicia. The following stages are shown on the Peutinger Tabula: Selinunte—Animurio—Arsinoe—Celenderis—Seleucia—Corioco—Pompeïopolis (Soloï)—Zephyrio(—Mallo, etc.), i.e. four places between Celenderis and Tarsos. We could hardly expect a more detailed list from our inscription. As there were, however, not less than eleven towns enumerated after Tarsos and before Celenderis, it becomes clear that the places named immediately after Tarsos cannot be found to the west of the Cilician capital. On the other hand, Šāpūr came to Tarsos from the east; therefore, the only direction left is the north, i.e. the road across the Tauros.

Fortified with these considerations we have to re-examine the name which is mentioned after Tarsos. Sprengling, it will be remembered, reads 'dnstyk'y; of all this, ' . . s . . . 'y only is quite certain. I feel sure, however, that there was a letter before the *Alif* (which Sprengling regards as initial), say *k* or *n*. The jumble of traces, which Sprengling regards as *dn*, is in my opinion rather *t* or *m*. As to the group -*tyk*-, it must be remembered that *k* and *n* are very similar, and that *t* often can hardly be distinguished from *yn*, *yk*, *wn*, *wk*; the letter read as *y* by Sprengling is, I think, clearly *l*. The following scheme indicates all the readings which are compatible with the traces:—

	<i>t</i>	
<i>k</i>	<i>' t s y n l k ' y</i>	
<i>n</i>	<i>m w k n</i>	

I feel sure that by now the kindest-hearted reader's patience will be thoroughly exhausted. But such a tedious exposition could hardly be avoided in endeavouring to convince him that the correct reading is *n'mswkln'y* = *Μαμψουκρήνη* (*Mopsucrene*), on the road from Tarsos to the Cilician Gates.¹ The initial *n* is not quite certain, but I doubt whether *m* could be read instead; it may be recalled that the Antonine Itinerary spells *Nampsucrone*,² but that carries little weight.

The fifth name after Mopsucrene has been read *wst'yl'dy* by the editor; the *y*, however, has the unusual shape of a full circle (= *p*), and the initial is clearly *k*: *kst'pl'dy* = *kastābalāy* is obviously *Καστάβαλλα*. There were two towns of this name³: one in Lycaonia near Cybistra on the road Tarsos—Cilician Gates—Barata, the other in Eastern Cilicia, on the right bank of the river Pyramos (Hieropolis Castabala). After the mention of Mopsucrene, which clearly indicates a march through the Cilician Gates, everything points to the Lycaonian Castabala, and yet the Cilician town is meant.

That is proved by the preceding name, which is to be read '*n.l..sy*' (with a small letter—*y*, *w*, or *z*—between *n* and *l*; Sprengling's reading '*ks..sy*' is distinctly wrong). The legible letters permit *one* restoration only: '*n[z][bw]sy*'⁴ = *Anazarbos* ('*Ain-zarba*, *Anazarba*). After Castabala, we find a very short name: '*...sy*',⁵ which, I believe, should be completed as '*[ysw]sy*' = Issos.⁶

Anazarbos—Castabala—Issos (if reading and restoration are correct)—this order strongly suggests a route, namely the road from Kokussos over the Tauros that passes through Flaviopolis (Sis).⁷ This indicates the road by which Šāpūr returned from Cappadocia: Caesarea—Comana—Cocussos—Flaviopolis—Issos—Alexandria—Antiochia.

After Selinus the towns of Cappadocia are enumerated, beginning with the capital, in an order which is based on a principle quite different from that to be observed in the lists of Cilician places. These can be analysed as parts of three itineraries⁸: (i) Samosata—Tarsos—Cilician Gates—Caesarea = attack, (ii) Caesarea—Cocussos—Issos—Antiochia

¹ Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

² Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

³ See Ramsay's lucid exposition, *op. cit.*, pp. 342 sq., 460.

⁴ Traces of *b* can perhaps still be seen.

⁵ Sprengling has '*...sy*' only.

⁶ It is admitted that this proposal is rather doubtful.

⁷ See Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 280 sq.

⁸ The only exception (Mallos) has been explained above.

= retreat of Šāpūr, (iii) Tarsos—Selinus, expedition sent along the coastal road. The first two itineraries stop short of the major places in Cappadocia which were to be listed together with Caesarea.

The full list could be restored, e.g., in the following way :—

(line 15)	Samosata	= Itin. I.
	[X.]	
	[Doliche]	
	[Nicompolis]	
5	Mopsuestia	
		Mallos
	Adana	
(line 16)	Tarsos	
	Mopsucrene	
10	[Podandos]	
	[Cocussos]	= Itin. II.
	[Flaviopolis]	
	Anazarbos	
	Castabala	
15	Issos	
(line 17)	[Zephyrion]	= Itin. III.
	[Pompeiopolis]	
	[Corycos]	
	[Seleucia]	
20	Celenderis	
	Anemurion	
	Selinus	
23	Caesarea, etc.	= Cappad.

That the name that was mentioned after Selinus is the name of the Cappadocian capital cannot be doubted. Already the reading as proposed by Sprengling: *mzknwl* . . . , proves this sufficiently; there was only one *Mazaca* in Asia Minor. The most likely reading seems to be *mzkkyl[sy'y]*, i.e. a misspelling of *mzkkysly'y* = *Mazaca-Cesarea*.

Eight names stood in line 18; the first three could not be deciphered. The following list indicates my proposals :—

24	illegible	Sprengling: . . s . . .
25	<i>t[</i>	<i>t[</i>
26	lost	—
27	<i>twn'dy</i> ¹	<i>m . . . d'y</i>
28	<i>klwny'y</i>	<i>k.mw(r)dy'y</i>
29	<i>kwm'n'dy</i> ²	same
30	<i>kwpstly'y</i>	same
31	<i>spsty'y</i> ³	<i>kspstly'y</i> ⁴

The spellings represent successively: 27 *Tyana* (*twn'dy* is to be pronounced: *twanai*), 28 *Colonia*, 29 *Comana* (*komānai*), 30 *Cybistra* (*Κύβιστρα*; the spelling of the inscription could be corrected in *kwpstly'y*, but need not be), 31 *Σεβάστεια*. Of these towns, Tyana, Comana (viz. Cappadociae), and Sebasteia (Siwas) need no further comment; Colonia is surely *Colonia Archelais* (Aq Serai); on the position of Cybistra, to the west of Tyana, see Ramsay, op. cit., pp. 341 sq.

Four further names, now completely effaced, filled the beginning of line 19. Again the formula: . . . *štrdstn MN plw'ly KHDH* is repeated: at its last occurrence, however, *štrdstn'n* seems to be the correct reading. That suggests that the list was concluded by the sum-total of the captured towns: [*D X III II*] *štrdstn'n MN plw'ly KHDH* "[35]⁵ towns with their surroundings".

The course of Šāpūr's campaign probably accounts for the apparent disorder in which the towns of Cappadocia are listed. From Tarsos he marched directly upon Caesarea, by the way of Mopsucrene—Cilician Gates—Podandos. As the capital did not surrender he was obliged to invest it; the siege, which was finally successful, took a considerable time, probably several months. The time of waiting was most conveniently employed in a series of raids into the surrounding country: to the west, the Persian armies reached Tyanitis and Lycaonia, to the north-east Sebasteia probably was the town farthest away from the capital that was ravaged. Comana was destroyed on Šāpūr's return to Antiochia; Ariarathia and Arabissos could hardly have escaped the same fate.

¹ Uncertain.

² Sprengling: *Karmanādi*, suggesting Kirman (II, p. 658).

³ Not quite certain, but probable.

⁴ Sprengling considers also *kspsty'y* (i, p. 137).—Kaspatyros!

⁵ Or a larger number, if the towns of the list constitute a part only of the places that were occupied.

E. RETURN TO PERSIA.—DATE

Richly laden with booty Šāpūr left Cappadocia, and passing through Cilicia, Syria, and Mesopotamia returned to Persia. It is possible that the approach of Macrianus, general and maker of emperors, hastened his return; he was fully satisfied with the result of his campaigns and did not want another battle. He had not come to conquer Syria and the provinces of Asia Minor, he did not want to add new territories to his empire: his sole purpose had been ravage and plunder as is apparent as well from his acting as from his own words in the inscription. He had gained his purpose: the damage done to the Roman provinces was enormous, the cities burnt, their inhabitants, soldiers and civilians alike, ruthlessly massacred.

He carried off not only gold and silver, but tens of thousands of Roman provincials (mostly chosen from the inhabitants of Antiochia) whom he wanted to settle in his own empire, hoping to use their knowledge of the latest technical achievements to the advantage of his country. He fully succeeded in this enterprise: his captives built him the famous dyke near Shushter, known as “Caesar’s dyke” (*band-i Kaisar*) to the present day, and he founded a town for them which he mockingly called: *Why-ndywk-šhpwhry* (line 31 of the inscription), *Vahī-Andiok-Šābuhr*, i.e. “Better than Antiochos (has) Šāpūr (built)” (explained as به از اندیو سانور; later *Gundēšābūr*).—The transport through the desert of a very great number of prisoners besides the Persian army was a difficult enterprise; the fact that Šāpūr succeeded in this (as proven by the presence of the provincials in Susiana) shows sufficiently how much the usual accounts of the exploits of Odenathus against the Persians on their desert march are exaggerated.¹

These events were briefly described in lines 19–20 of the inscription. No satisfactory reading, however, can as yet be proposed. Only the first words are more or less clear. Sprengling reads (after the last *KH D H*):—

..... *y* *n* 'nšwt' *MH yk hw(r)r(w)m . . dt štr* *w(')n pwn 'd'ly* [line 20] *hytyw zkn*, etc.

It is perhaps possible to recognize the symbol for “1000” (*lp*, in the form approaching 𐭪𐭫, as clearly visible in line 23) before 'nšwt';

¹ Nöldeke, with his wonted partiality against everything Persian, surpasses all ancient accounts in his representation of this rather legendary story (*Aufsätze zur Persischen Geschichte*, pp. 93 sq.).

before and behind "1000" other numerals could be expected. The traces after 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 should be read, in my opinion, *MH MN ḥrwm'dyk štry*. After a short gap, *PWN 'd'ly HYTYW* is nearly certain, but the meaning of 'd'ly is not known.¹

The spelling suggests *ayār*² or *ayāl*; *HYTYW* = 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 (not uncommon in Pahlavi texts), Pahlavi Psalter *HYTYWN* (Andreas-Barr, p. 130), is "to lead, conduct". As meaning of *ayār*, "chains" may be suggested.³ The sentence could be translated: "[number] thousand [number] men that [had been captured] from the Roman empire, were lead away in chains; now . . ."⁴

After this sentence, in the middle of line 20, the word *šm* "name" occurs twice⁵; a reference to the towns which Šāpūr founded with the help of his captives seems not impossible. A satisfactory reading of this line cannot yet be offered. The last four words only are clear:—

'YK MNW 'HR YHWWNd⁶ [line 21] WZNH⁷ ŠMk⁸ [ptpwlsnd] " [In memory of these events I have set up this inscription] so that those who live later and [read] this inscription [will believe, etc.]." Cf. Naqš-i Rajab, line 13: *WMNW ZNH n'mky HZYTNT* [line 14] *Wptpwls't* "whoever will see and read this inscription". The complete phrase was probably quite similar to Dareios' words: *tuvam kā hya aparam imām dipim patiprsāhiy tya manā krtam vrnvatām*, etc. (*Beh.*, iv, 41 sq.).

¹ I have been unable to find out from Professor Sprengling's discussion of the passage what meaning he ascribes to 'd'ly; he transcribes *pat adhar* (I, p. 138).

² Different, of course, from *hayār* "friend"; this word occurs (unrecognized) in the last line of the inscription: *hdb'r* [Sprengling: *hdb'r(w)y(w)*] with a noteworthy ligature (Pahlavi Psalter: *hdyb'l*- Pahlavi 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥). Possibly connected with 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 "minister" in Daniel (e.g. iii, 24; vi, 8) = **hadabāra*- "companions, friends (of the king)", with Av. *haḍa* (Skt. *sadha*-).

³ **ayār* would result in New Persian **yār*; perhaps one might think of NPers. *yāra* "bracelet", also "anklet" and even "necklace" (*tauq*); Arab. loan-word *yārağ* (ياراج) the dictionaries record even a side-form *ayāra* (يارا). But *yāra* is used for ornaments only, not for fetters.—The ordinary word for "chain" is NPers. *zanğīr* from (Parthian) *zēnčīhr* (*BSOS.*, IX, p. 90). Under Varhrān I, Mani was fettered at hands, feet, and neck.—**ayāl* > NPers. *yāl* "neck", etc., is unlikely here.

⁴ Probably *K'N* (𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥).

⁵ In the first place, Sprengling reads *šs*[-].

⁶ Hardly *YHWWN* (Sprengling).

⁷ Sprengling: *kznḥ* (cf. II, pp. 658 sq.).

⁸ Sprengling: *šm w*[-]. The reading *ŠMk* (= *n'mky* = *dipi*) although not certain seems preferable.

This sentence concludes the first half of the inscription. The second half contains a *deed of settlement* by which Sacred Fires and funds for their maintenance were established (see above): by his gift the King of Kings wishes to express his thankfulness towards the gods for his victories over the Romans. It is likely that this donation was made shortly after his return to Persia, probably before Odenath succeeded in occupying a part of Mesopotamia and even dared to attack the Persian capital. The most likely date for the inscription, therefore, is A.D. 262.¹

As, however, doubt has been expressed about the identity of the king who set up the inscription, it seems necessary to offer an interpretation of the opening lines of the second half of the monument; for therein it is stated that the king's name was Šāpūr.

In the middle of line 21, the word *krpky* "pious deed" (as correctly understood by Professor Sprengling) indicates the contents of the second half of the inscription. After a gap, *wtñh* opens the long sentence on the institution of the Sacred Fires; the ideogram *TNH* = תנה "here" (frequent in Papyri) occurs in Pers., II, 9, as my revered teacher, the late Professor F. C. Andreas, pointed out to me: *WMN TNH*² *drwdst pl'c 'L BB' ZY 'LHšn 'RHY'n YHMTWNn* "and may I reach the court of His Majesty safely from here". He also referred to לתנה (cf. Pahlavi 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥) in Pers. I, 5: *WPWN krpkyhy LTNH*³ *'L ststwny Y'TWN* "and piously he came here to *Satstūn* (Persepolis)".—*WTNH* was probably followed by "shall be instituted", cf. *'yw klyty*⁴ near the end of line 23.

After *WTNH* + verb, the enumeration of the Sacred Fires begins immediately. The following restoration and division of the phrases is proposed:—

[21] *WTNH* [*'yw* verb].

[A] [*ptn'm*] *NW[R' I] hwslwb*⁵ *šhpwhry ŠM* [22] *PWN LNH lwb'n*.

¹ Shortly before the inscription discovered at Shapur which was inscribed in Sept./Oct. 264 (in the month Frawardīn of the 24th year of Šāpūr's reign: see Christensen's interpretation in the above-mentioned article by Ghirshman, pp. 127 sq.; if Šāpūr acceded to the throne in the spring of 242, the first year of his reign is counted as from 22nd Sept., 241; his 24th year began on the 16th Sept., 264).

² Herzfeld (in *Paikuli*) proposed *ZNH*.

³ Herzfeld (ibid.) considered *LZNH*.—Cf. *Mir. Man.*, iii, b, 118 sqq.: *'yd 'ndr mrg, 'wr 'w mrg*.

⁴ The reading *'yw* is beyond doubt. Cf. Sprengling, ii, p. 666. *'yw* is optative particle, cf. Andreas-Barr, p. 120; *klyty* is passive pres. sg. 3, cf. Andreas-Barr, p. 133; *prm'ywmy* = "I order". Cf. *ZII.*, vol. ix, pp. 205 sq., 232 sqq.

⁵ Reading quite certain. Cf. Sprengling, II, p. 659, line 33.

- [B] *Wptn'm NWR' I hwsłwb 'twr'nhyt ŠM PWN 'twr'nhyt [MLKT'n MLKT' ZY LNH NYŠH] lwb'n.*
- [C] [*Wptn'm*] *NWR' [I] hwsłwb 'whrmzd' ¹ 'rthštr ŠM PWN 'whrmzd 'rthštr LB' MLK' 'lmn'n ZY LNH BRHr lwb'n.*
- [D] *Wptn'm 'HRN NWR' I ² hwsłwb šhpwhry ŠM PWN šhpwhry ZY myš'n MLK' ZY LNH BRHr lwb'n.*
- [E] *Wptn'm NWR' I [23] hwsłwb nrshy ŠM PWN . . . ³ mzdysn ⁴ nrshy MLK' hndy ⁵ skstn W t[h]wrstn W dym'd'by ⁶ [ZY LNH BRH]r lwb'n.⁷*

“And here be instituted:—

- [A] “One ‘name-fire’, by name ‘Famous (is) Šāpūr’, for *our* soul.
- [B] “And one ‘name-fire’, by name ‘Famous (is) Āḍuranāhīd’, for the soul of Āḍuranāhīd, the Queen of Queens, our wife.
- [C] “And one ‘name-fire’, by name ‘Famous (is) Ōhrmizd-Ardašīr’, for the soul of Ōhrmizd-Ardašīr, the Great King of the Armenians, our son.
- [D] “And one, *second* ‘name-fire’, by name ‘Famous (is) Šāpūr’, for the soul of Šāpūr, the King of Mesene, our son.
- [E] “And one ‘name-fire’, by name ‘Famous (is) Narseh’, for the soul of Narseh, the . . . , the Mazda-worshipper, the King of India, Sakastān, and Taḫwarastān and (?), our son.”

Five ⁸ Sacred Fires are established, one each for the ruling King of Kings, for the Queen of Queens (most likely the principal wife of the ruling king), and for three of his sons. Each Fire receives the name of its patron, which is preceded by *husrav* “famous”. As the name of the first Fire is to be *Husrav-Šāpūr*, the name of the ruling king must have been *Šāpūr*. Further confirmation can be found in the fourth

¹ Sprengling š (cf. ii, p. 660).

² The numeral *I* has been regarded as “a vertical dividing stroke” (I, p. 130) which is “like a long numeral I” (ibid.) by Professor Sprengling.

³ Sprengling reads *'yly*; not quite certain.

⁴ Thus Sprengling; cf. I, p. 141.

⁵ Not *cndy* (cf. Sprengling, I, p. 141).

⁶ Reading very dubious (Sprengling: *wdys'd'y*); see below.

⁷ Not read by Sprengling.

⁸ It is not intended to enter into a detailed discussion of Professor Sprengling's interpretation of the passage; his views differ widely from mine.—A similar (although not identical) explanation has been proposed by Professor Christensen, in a communication to the Congress of Orientalists held at Brussels in September, 1938, which I regret I was unable to attend. In the course of the discussion that followed Professor Christensen's paper, Professor H. W. Bailey kindly mentioned my interpretation which I had communicated to him by letter.

formula where the word 'HRN "second, other" is used because two fires of the name *Husrav-Šāpūr* were to be established.

The Sacred Fires were established "for the soul" (*paδ ruvān*), to help the departed soul in the other world.¹ The Fire was to burn eternally: to ensure this a capital sum was deposited with a community of priests who in return for the revenue undertook to take care of the fire. The *Mādyān ī Hazār Dādistān* deals with legal questions² arising out of the administration of these (and similar) funds, which were called *ruvānagān* "relating to the soul" because they were established *paδ ruvān* "for the soul". Under the rule of the Sasanians these funds were supervised by a State Minister, with the title *روانگان دافیر* *ruvānagān daβīr* "Secretary of State for the charitable funds."³

At the same time the establishment of a fire was sometimes intended to commemorate the name of a person to posterity. Such a fire was distinguished from ordinary fires by the term *patnām ādur*, i.e. "in-the-name fire". Besides the King and his Queen, three of their sons are honoured in this manner. It is probable that these sons had participated and distinguished themselves in the Roman war. Farther on, in line 24, four sons are enumerated: (1) *Varhrān Gēlānšāh*, (2) *Šāpūr ī Mēšānšāh*, (3) *Ōhrmīzd-Ardašīr ī wuzray šāh Armenān*, (4) *Narseh ī Sakānšāh*. The last three are the same sons for whom "name-fires" were established. *Varhrān*, therefore, did not participate in the campaigns; he was probably entrusted with the protection of the north-eastern border of the Sasanian Empire which had been pacified by Šāpūr before he set out against the Romans, but needed constant attention. He succeeded his brother Ōhrmīzd as King of Kings (= *Varhrān I.*).

His brother Ōhrmīzd, however, who became King of Kings after Šāpūr, is surely identical with Ōhrmīzd-Ardašīr. That his name was abbreviated when he acceded to the throne does not constitute a serious objection against this assumption. It has been suggested before that Ōhrmīzd acquired his surname "the Brave" in the war with the Romans⁴; we should, therefore, expect to find him amongst

¹ That does not mean, of course, that the Sacred Fires were established by testament only.

² See Bartholomae, *WZKM.*, vol. xxvii, pp. 364, 369 sqq.

³ See J. M. Unvala, *Journ. K. R. Cama Inst.*, No. 11, 1928, p. 92; Benveniste, *Études d'Orientalisme* . . . *Raymonde Linossier*, t. i, pp. 155 sqq.; Andreas-Henning, *Mir. Man.*, ii, p. 317, n. 2; H. H. Schaeder, *Iranica*, pp. 19 sqq.

⁴ Cf. Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 43, n. 2.

the sons for whom a 'name-fire' was instituted: their list is headed by *Ōhrmizd-Ardašīr* who was possibly Šāpūr's eldest son.¹ The town *Ōhrmizd-Ardašīr*² (Sūq al-Ahwāz) took its name from the King of Kings *Ōhrmizd I*³; that proves that his name was originally *Ōhrmizd-Ardašīr*.

Šāpūr's third (or second) son, *Šāpūr*, who was king of Mesene⁴ at the date of the inscription, probably died early; for he is never mentioned as an aspirant to the throne (as far as I know), and he cannot have been alive (or, certainly not remained alive) when his younger brother Narseh gained the throne, in A.D. 294. This *Narseh*, the youngest of Šāpūr's sons,⁵ is mentioned in both lists, always as the last. He was *Sakānšāh*: his title, more detailed in the first list as "King of India, Sakastān, Taχwarastān and . . . ? . . .",⁶ is identical with the title of the *Sakānšāh* Šāpūr, who visited Persepolis in August, A.D. 311.⁷

The titles given to Šāpūr's sons in the inscription indicate the position held by them at the outbreak of the Roman war; there was probably no change before the war came to its end. It is, however, not possible further to enter here into the study of the numerous and

¹ The second list, however, possibly represents the order of the sons according to age (cf. Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins*, p. 34). *Ōhrmizd-Ardašīr* stands at the head of the first list, perhaps because his father designated him as his successor.

² Cf. Nöldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 13, 19, n. 5; Guidi, *ZDMG.*, xliii, p. 410; Polotsky, *Manich. Homil.*, p. 44, n. b (annotation by Schaefer).

³ Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, p. 22, pu.: *šahristān ī Ōhrmizd-Ardašīr* [uδ] *šahristān ī Rām-Ōhrmizd Ōhrmizd ī Nēv* (the "Brave") *ī Šāpūrān kird*. Cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 144; *Šahr. Erān*, p. 95 sq.

⁴ At an earlier date a brother of Šāpūr I, by name *Mihrršāh*, was king of Mesene (Manich. fragment, *M.*, 47).

⁵ i.e., of those who were entitled to the succession.

⁶ *t. wrstn*: there is a gap between *t* and *w*; *h* (or *g*?) would fit in excellently. It is true, however, that in the parallel passage in Pers. I, 3, the reading *twrst* cannot be doubted. It seems necessary to assume *two* mistakes in *one* word. The identification of the name with *Toχāristān* is, therefore, rather doubtful; it would be valuable to have an early example of the spelling *thwr*- (as, e.g., in the Singanfu inscription, cf. *BSOS.*, IX, pp. 545 sqq.). If we had to accept the spelling *twrst*(n) as correct, the identification with *Taχwār*, *Toχār* (first proposed by Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, p. 246) would be excluded.—I regret that I have been unable to find a satisfactory reading for the last name.

⁷ Pers. I, 2 sq. Andreas, who had at his disposal a good impression (beside photographs), read: *šhpwhly sk'n MLK' hndy* [3] *skstn Wtwrst wdg'm'dnby*. Professor

Herzfeld's latest reading is: *sakānšāh hinda sakastān u tuχaristān dabīrān dabīr* (*Kushano-Sasanian Coins* [*Mem. Arch. Survey of India*, No. 38], p. 36). The reading of the last two words (= *wdgm'dnby*, or *wdym'd'by*) can hardly be accepted. It would be interesting to learn how Professor Herzfeld reads the traces which suggested *Tuχaristān* to him.

important problems which arise out of the extensive lists of persons mentioned in the second half of the inscription. It is proposed to take up these problems later on.

But I hope to have shown that it is not an exaggeration to call this inscription the most important document of the Sasanian Empire that so far has been discovered ; it is, I venture to say, even more important than the great Paikuli inscription, notwithstanding Professor Herzfeld's ingenious and successful attempt at its reconstruction. With our thanks to the editor of the monument, Professor Sprengling, we may combine our hope that the untiring labours of the expedition of the Oriental Institute will be crowned by another triumph, in discovering the hitherto lost Parthian version of Šāpūr's great inscription.
